[For nature and cultural patterning of dreams, see category 116, pp. 307-308.]

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walked hunched-up, cutting their bodies with sharp shells or pieces of coral. They did not walk along the main road between the villages but proceeded through the bush or by back paths. The mourners were not considered unclean. Their hearts were too full of sorrow for them to wish to meet unaffected people. They were not responsible for their actions, so intense was their grief. Hence it was better for them to keep away from the main group of people while in this highly emotionalized state of grief-stricken frenzy. Similarly, mourners going from one cemetery, where they had been watching over the grave of one relative, to another cemetery to take up residence over the grave of another just buried, also walked by the back paths so that their grief would not be communicated to the general populace. The route taken by mourners is called *te ala o te tupua* (the path of the creatures).

Arrived at the house of death (*vale mate*), the mourners walked once or twice around the house, wailing the while and still bent double—then they entered and joined those within. By the time all the mourners had gathered, the corpse was covered or wrapped (*uuhatuye*) in another mat, leaving only the face uncovered.

It was tapu for any relative or friend to uncover the corpse to take a last look at it. This tapu is explained as a precaution to prevent bereaved spouses or cousins-in-avoidance (*tuale atua*) from throwing off the mat and lying down beside the corpse, or lying on top of it. By all accounts this tapu was frequently broken, especially by cousins. It was contended that the grief of a cousin-in-avoidance would be more intense and frenzied than that of any other close relative. It was further assumed that the surviving cousin would seek from the dead what was denied by the living. This last frenzy of the cousin, leading to passionate embraces, even intercourse (termed in this context *uuka-mauga*), though not socially approved, was at the same time highly excusable. When it occurred it produced no horror or fear in the minds of the mourners. It was considered unseemly, a little extreme in the display of affection. Informants discussed the matter as if it had been a normal expectation in death scenes; there is no record of its happening in recent times. The inference is that it occurred much more frequently in pre-missionary times when the functioning of the kinship avoidance was so rigorous as to necessitate a sufficient give in the social fabric to provide a possible outlet for banked-up emotions.

As each principal mourner arrives at the house of death, he presents to the corpse a death gift (*uutonga*) of mats, malos, pearl-shell necklaces, fish-hooks, or other valuables, which he places on the corpse, then smells[12] (*yongi*) the corpse before retiring to a suitable position among the mourners. Each visitor also brings a gift of nuts or taro, which is placed aside for later division. The close relatives of both sexes sit or lie on the floor in a circle round the corpse. Those most affected half recline across the corpse, burying their faces in the body of the deceased and encircling their arms round it in special frenzies of grief. Other relatives stand by, stamp their feet, move their arms in swaying motions, and cry out to the deceased whom they

[12] A literal translation. The Pukapukan greeting is both inhalation and nose pressure with emphasis on supposed inhalation.

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stance. When the gods caused man to descend from the god Mataliki, they were afraid to give his soul full awareness, because once it left the body enjoying full awareness, it would never come back, and the body would thus be superfluous. The gods therefore ensured that the soul would see the world in a misty fashion only, that it would be afraid of daylight and thus would have to see the world always under cover of darkness. The soul hurries home at dawn. Dreams are often indistinct and easily forgotten because the soul is not clearly aware of the adventures it has when it wanders about in the night. Medicine men (*tangata wotu*) who had the power of seeing souls in the dark often killed them on the theory that they were up to some mischief, causing sickness. Hence the soul always tried to avoid the medicine man in its nightly perambulations.

After death of the material body for whatever reason, the soul is finally released for all time from the body. It journeys to the Underworld, where it takes up permanent residence and enjoys the full pleasure and awareness denied to it in the upper world. There is no question of reincarnation, because the soul will not readily resume the bondage of the body after tasting the delights of full awareness in the Underworld. The gods may intervene to return the soul to the body after a short sojourn in the Underworld, usually at the supplication of those mourners left on earth, never at the supplication of the soul itself.

The Cosmos

The Pukapukan idea of the cosmos, complementing the ideology of the soul, is that the cosmos consists of three major levels, indefinitely extensive flat surfaces. The level of this world of humans comprises *te papa wenua* and *te papa moana*, the level of land and of sea. Above is *te papa langi*, the level of the sky. The sky meets land or sea at the horizon, which is thought of as the side of the sky, *te tawa o te langi*. The sky therefore limits the indefinite expansion of the earthly levels. Below the level of this world is the Po, the Underworld, itself made up of three further indefinitely extensive levels, *te kapi lunga*, *te kapi lalo*, and *te po lihuliku*. No limit to these levels is known.

The Underworld

Pukapukan knowledge of the Underworld (fig. 54) is derived from the visit made by Wotoa and Te Yoa, two seers, who figure also as the heroes who rid Pukapuka of the god-ogre, Te Atua Pule. Neither of these brothers comes into the genealogies. The account they brought back was supplemented by dream visits of other seers to the Underworld at later dates, and by dreams of laymen. The account of the visit of Wotoa and Te Yoa is as follows:

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people rushed round them to hear of their adventures. They told of their journey, and later introduced to Pukapuka all the activities—arts, crafts, and games—of the Underworld. From their visit, supplemented by voyages abroad, is derived all the knowledge of the Pukapukans in these arts.

Other priests who visited the Underworld brought back the knowledge of taro food preparations, of which the original inhabitants of Pukapuka were unaware. Perhaps, say informants, this coincided with the reintroduction of fire to Pukapuka by the god Ngaliyeyeu after the seismic wave. The seer Levi, who lived just prior to white contact, is said to have shown the people of Pukapuka many times the food—fish, taro, and nuts—that his spirit brought back to him after one of its visits to the Underworld.

Some visitors to the Underworld have reported the existence of an eight-walled enclosure on the *kapi lunga*, presided over by the god Te Vayi. In this enclosure was kept burning a hot fire, into which adulterers, for example, are supposed to have been thrown by Te Vayi. Confirmatory evidence for the existence of this walled enclosure was given by seers who told relatives of the dead that they had visited the Po looking for the souls of the deceased, in order to bring them back to Pukapuka, but that they could not discover the souls and therefore assumed that they had been consumed in this fire. It is possible that this legend of a fire burning in the Underworld represents a survival in Pukapuka of the widespread Polynesian idea of an underworld fire visited by a culture hero who brought fire back to mortals, an idea that has perhaps been affected by missionary teaching.

The souls of living, dying, or dead men that visited the Underworld seem to have had about equal chances of escaping back to mortal body or being ensnared in the Po and remaining there forever. Each of the stopping places mentioned by Wotoa and Te Yoa was either a place which reminded the soul of the world it had left, giving it the opportunity to go back before it was too late, or was a trap designed to catch the unwary soul and so draw it on ever deeper into that part of the Underworld from which there is no return. Perhaps this idea of equal chances is a reflex of the number of times Pukapukans have seen unconsciousness in sick people unaccompanied by heart cessation or decay of the body. If, for instance, the soul balancing on the oscillating stone of Yokamani was not precipitated into the Po likuliku then it still had an opportunity of returning to the upper world. But the soul that washed in the fresh water springs washed away all memory of the upper world, and its chances were proportionately less. When the soul reached the house of Leva, the gods smelled its arrival, and always anxious for fresh company to amuse them with stories, singing, and dancing, they insisted on taking the soul from Leva's mat. This represented the ultimate depth of the Underworld from which there was no returning, or at least

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not hereditary. Each practitioner started afresh. Induction into the ranks came through dream experience, believed to be given the man by the god of his lineage. The dream (*miti*) was either of a medical nature, or in some other way made plain that the dreamer was chosen by his god to cure sickness. In some modern dreams recounted in Pukapuka, the lineage gods as causative agents were succeeded by European doctors of medicine. An example of this is the following dream recounted by a native doctor:

> One night I had a dream in which I was taken to a *uale maki* (hospital). It was in Tahiti, I think, though my body was in Pukapuka. I saw two *tuuruga*[1] *maki* (doctors) in the room. One man, who was the chief, was standing beside a bed, the other man was leaning over someone lying on the bed. The one leaning over the bed straightened up as I came into the room, came close to me and said, "Come with me, e toku mouli (O pupil of my eye)." Then we three approached the bed. The chief doctor said to me, "I will show you how to treat sickness. I will show you all the parts of the body, so you will know what sickness is." Then the doctors showed me the two methods of *lomilomi* physical therapy. They cut open the body and pointed out to me the various organs, told me of the sickness affecting each part, how this sickness could be diagnosed, and how treated. These doctors were white men. After they showed me everything, they told me to go back to Pukapuka, but to dream of them any time I wanted assistance. I woke up in a normal condition, wondering why I should have been selected for this dream.

This informant had several dreams in which he has both procured status from, and asked information of, white doctors when called to treat sicknesses he could not understand. He did not use any technique to have these dreams. The old pattern was evident in the feeling of the initial dream that further contact with the source of inspiration could be obtained when meeting with unfamiliar types of sickness, though the medicine man of old consulted his lineage gods in every case of sickness brought to him, whether familiar or not.

For his services, the medicine man was paid whatever the patient thought fit. A small food gift was usually sufficient. He received ample recompense for his trouble in the social prestige that accrued to him as a prominent individual of the community.

CAUSATION AND TREATMENT

For treatment in former days, the sick person sent for or more frequently went to the house of the medicine man, who questioned the patient about the sickness, the location and nature of pain. After the first diagnosis the medicine man consulted the gods of the lineage or the special gods of medicine by whom the sickness might be cured. Communication with the gods was held in the house of the medicine man and in the presence of the patient, or in the god house of the medicine man if he were at the same time a practicing priest. The technique of communication was by the pigeon-

[1] The Pukapukan word *tuuruga*, cognate of Maori *ruranga* (expert), is now applied to white medical specialists. It was formerly not used in reference to priests, seers, or medicine men but was an ordinary adjective denoting skilful, expert, applied to any other art or craft.

539 The twins paddled off to the island where Luka lived. The people of this island seized them, placed them in an enclosure and planned to kill them on the third night. The older twin chanted his cry:

Light raised the shadow on Lotutu,
We were born Te-mangaitua and Te-mangaialo,
We two shall be eaten by our progenitor,
By our father, Luka!

Luka and the people of the island heard their cry. Luka questioned them as to their coming. When he heard the reason, he decided to return with his children to his wife on the island of Lotutu. The twins warned him against this but Luka was stubborn. As the canoe came near to Lotutu, Leiakunavai counted the heads. Six people she saw. She entered a Pandanus log and cried "Ngi, ngi! " like a rat. When the children and Luka arrived at her house she was gone.

Giants of Tongaleleva

This is a story from Tongaleleva. Te-wuloa and Te-wupoto were wife and husband. They came from foreign lands. When they walked on the sea their heads rose into the sky. So swift was their walk that all the fish in the sea were thrown here and there by the speed of their passage. They seized and ate all the man-eating fish of the sea. When they landed on the island of Tunatau to sleep, their snoring was like the beating of thunder. Those people who walked close to them were inhaled up the giants' nostrils, so great was the rush of air.

When they ate, they fed continuously for ten days and nights. When they slept, they slept for six months at a stretch. When they cohabited, it took them six moons to finish. When their children were born they were gigantic animals.

The giants lived on Tunatau for a long time. Then the people became tired of being inhaled up the nostrils of the giants. The people became angry. There was a fight and the giants were chased back to Tongaleleva.

Tales of Man-eaters

538 Grouped together here are all the tales of man-eating persons
266 (tangata kai tangata) or demons (tupua kai tangata). The phrase
578 kai tangata is used in ordinary speech to refer to anyone who
154 is brutal, ferocious, cruel, or just mean. In these stories, however, it invariably refers to a creature who eats people, both adults and children. In one instance the cannibal is a god. Most of the man-eater stories tell first of the eating of a person,

538 and then of the punishment or killing of the man-eater by
266 another man or group of people. The punishment, which is
578 often as ferocious and brutal as the original crime, is related
154 by the narrator with great emphasis and graphic detail.

It will be noted that cannibals in these stories are exceptional persons, usually in foreign lands; only in three instances is Pukapuka the locus of the incidents (the stories of Te Atuapula, Witielo and Papalangi). The Pukapukans themselves say that their ancestors did not indulge in cannibalism at any time in the history of the atoll, and this statement seems to be substantiated by the absence of incidents of cannibalism in stories about historical personages. It is in these almost mythical tales about man-eating persons that one finds the only approach in Pukapukan culture to what has been termed elsewhere the "wihtigo psychosis", a psychotic craving for human flesh. In these stories the death of the man-eater is invariably accompanied by much apparently sadistic cruelty in which the cannibal is pounded apart piecemeal. The relatively large number of these stories in the folklore and traditions of the Pukapukans must be significant, and it is likely that their telling provided and provides even today, an outlet for repressed homicidal and sadistic tendencies, which might otherwise break out into actual violence, which would be especially dangerous because of the small population cooped up on the tiny atoll. Accounts of apparent group homicidal mania have been given previously [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 391-393, category 116--analyst]; these might perhaps have been more numerous but for the vicarious
[155] satisfaction provided by the man-eater type of story.
[192] Another point of interest is the possible significance of the "eating" concept prefixed to many and various phrases: ule kaina or wu kaina, "penis (desired) to eat, or vagina (desired) to eat", used as a greeting of especial warmth to an esteemed person, or to a younger person from whom a favor is desired or received; kaina e te miti, "eaten up by dreams", of a person who has had many dreams in one night; kai wale, "eating house" and kai wenua, "afterbirth eating", applied to a person who has committed incest; kai palanga, "eat feces", an oath or term of scorn; kai pulu tau tape, "eat menstrual pads", an oath or insult; kai used as a synonym in chants for the act of coitus. In all these foregoing is an association of the mouth with either desirable or horrible things, or acts, an association perhaps to be explained only in terms of analytic theory.

It may be noted finally that the Pukapukan idiom to express the idea of "revenge", is the phrase langa te imu (prepare the

538 oven). Here there is another association with the cooking
266 and eating of food, as if the ultimate revenge can only be
578 gained through the eating of the hated person. Insofar as
154 there are no records in Pukapuka of actual cannibalism, this expression for revenge, together with the other eating concepts above, presumably have reference to a deep seated vicarious satisfaction obtained from the use of these idioms and concepts.

Of Wawine-mata

539 Wawine-mata was a man-eating woman. Her child was a small infant. One day she wished to go looking for food so she searched among the houses for a woman to care for her child while she was away. She found a woman named Tulekaleka (10) who agreed to watch over the infant while the mother was away. Wawine-mata gave explicit instructions about the child: if it cried, Tulekaleka was to give it water; if it hungered, Tulekaleka was to feed it coconut flesh.

After Wawine-mata had left, the infant began to cry in hunger. Tulekaleka fed it coconut flesh. Then she tore off the child's arm and ripped out its liver. The infant died. Tulekaleka washed off the blood from the corpse and wrapped it up nicely in a mat. She baked the infant's liver in the oven.

Wawine-mata returned to find Tulekaleka sitting quietly beside the bundled up infant. She thought the child was asleep and wished to wake it but Tulekaleka persuaded her to let it lie until she had tasted a portion of delicious food that she produced from the oven. Wawine-mata tasted, then praised the food, asking for more. She became thirsty and Tulekaleka took the coconut containers to fill them at the well. Instead of filling them, however, she smashed them one by one against a stone. Wawine-mata saw this. Suddenly she turned to her bundled infant. She opened the mat to find inside the dead

[171] 10. The sex of the individual Tulekaleka is of comparative importance because of the fact that Kennedy [see bibliographical references in 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 416, category 113 or 116--analyst.] reports from Vaitupu a story very similar to this in which Tulekaleka was a boy. In recording this story we assumed that the Pukapukan Tulekaleka was female. Informants agreed by letter that this was correct, all save two very reliable elderly men, who were positive that the Pukapukan character was an adult man.

Function

533 Of two general functions of the composition and reciting of
173 chants, one is directly sociological in that the chants, by their
773 extreme use of allusive reference, serve as a sort of memo-
183 randum of significant events chronicled in full in the history and traditions of the group. A name reference in a chant to an historical or mythical character, or to a legendary land, calls to mind in very few words a whole cycle of stories connected with the subject mentioned. The chants do not take the place of traditions, but for the Pukapukans they are an indispensible method of cataloguing the body of traditions and passing these on to a younger generation. The chants cannot be understood without the background of knowledge which is the history and traditions of the people. The chants themselves also constitute a check on the validity of old customs and incidents when they are challenged today. Anyone who can support his statement by quoting lines which establish the existence of a custom from a recognizably old and well known chant has won his case. Absence of reference in old chants constitutes sufficient evidence of the non-existence or non-occurrence of a custom or incident. When he suggested that the explorer Mahuta had come to Pukapuka on a visit from Tongareva, the proponent of this theory was asked by other informants to quote a chant in proof of his statement. As he was unable by this means to prove his point, the general consensus was that he had learned of Mahuta on a visit to Tongareva and had become confused in his traditional history of Pukapuka. Even a casual reading of the chants will indicate their richness of reference to old-time social customs. From discussion of these references with informants, much material was collected that had a direct bearing upon all aspects of native Pukapukan culture.

533 Besides their sociological function, the chants have a direct
154 psychological function in the life of the people. Their com-
578 position and recitation provide a channelizing of emotion that might otherwise break out in less desirable, even anti-social ways. Sentiments of aggression in the individual and in groups of individuals are given an outlet in the taunting and boasting chants, and pass off in a great burst of harmless energy instead of banking up and flooding through channels of violence and homicide. This is a very necessary safeguard to develop in a small closely confined community, the culture patterns of which are strongly extraverted and set a premium on vigorous energetic unconfined displays of behavior. It is not unreasonable to correlate the small amount of actual warfare and violence in Pukapukan history with the extreme development of the practice of composing and singing chants which

533 has provided a socially approved outlet for feelings of aggres-
154 sion and hatred. The glorification of the individual which is
578 implicit in the controlling patterns of Pukapukan society is evident also in the love chants and these too, have provided socially approved channels for the expression of sentiments of love and affection that might otherwise not find outlet in the somewhat matter of fact behavior which characterizes the relations between the sexes. It is no exaggeration to say that an ability to understand and feel all that is implied in the chants is the best possible way of gaining an appreciation of native Pukapukan culture. They literally provide a source book to the ideals and practices of this culture.

533 After each of the fishing competitions held during our visit, and during the sports competitions held at the New Year, each village composed and sang special chants celebrating its victories. In the fishing competitions for instance, on the night before the big public feast marking the conclusion of the fishing, men, women, and children of the winning village gathered together on the village meeting ground just after dusk and practiced throughout the night until dawn old and new chants in preparation for the public chanting on the last day. Again during the visit of the villages to the reserves to prepare copra, one or more nights each week was devoted by the adults of Ngake village to the learning of new chants and the practicing of old ones. These chant practices were alter-
[181] nated with nights of Christian hymn singing. The contrast provided between the sentiments of the more popular Christian hymns and the vigorous paganism of old chants symbolizes in striking fashion the apposition of ideals that characterizes Pukapukan society today.

Dancing

535 Two types of dancing, one old, the other new, are in vogue
527 in Pukapuka today. The modern type known by the Rarotongan
[177] name upaupa, is said to be derived from Tahiti and is performed by children on all occasions and by adults at Christmas time. On Christmas day, the men (or women, in alternate years) of each village form dancing teams which visit in turn each of the other two villages, where they are entertained by the women (or men) of the village for whom they dance on the village meeting place. The dancers are grouped in four lines facing a leader who sets rhythm and movements. As the dancing proceeds women join the group and dance opposite the men, files of women alternating with files of men. After dancing, the visitors are given a feast, and then move to the next village to repeat

535 or other possible named dances. No such names occur in any
533 of the chants or stories and informants knew of none. Dancing
527 was solely an accompaniment for chanting. Movements might vary for the same chant on different occasions. Selection of chants and dance movements for the special dancing that took place at the time of the morning rising of the Pleiades seems to have been equally arbitrary. There seems also to have been no connection between dancing and specifically religious ceremonial. Group chanting and dancing occurred at any time of the year, but more frequently during the six months pleasure-making following the rising of the Pleiades, after the frequent sports and fishing contests.

535 It is certain that the dancers became worked up to a high degree of emotional tension as the dancing continued throughout the day. Rapid movement, repeated rhythm, bodily contact, the suggestive effect of the words of the chants and the action accompaniments, all conduced to heighten emotion which found an outlet as the day came to an end in a wild burst of passionate lovemaking, mentioned in many of the chants recorded. The lovemaking was not promiscuous in the sense that avoidance or kinship tapus were broken down, but only in the sense that a certain license prevailed which overstepped rights based on marriage, and for the breaking of which there was no cause for anger or jealousy. It is again permissible
[154] to suggest that in a closely confined community such as Puka-
[578] puka, recurring periods of license acted as channels for the outlet of emotions directed towards the opposite sex which if cooped up might break out in anti-social violence.

Translation of Chants.

533 For the purposes of presentation, the chants have been
195 broken up into relatively self-contained line units so that the translation may be followed with greater ease. In actual chanting, however, each chant is recited as a unit and is not broken up into meaning phrases. The chanting is a continuous flow of sound interrupted only by breath pauses, but even these do not necessarily occur in group chanting when continuity is maintained by some chanters while others pause for breath. The chants recorded by informants without punctuation of any sort, were broken up into meaningful units in the course of translation.

Difficulties in translation resulted from the common use of clipped, shorthand expression, allusive and indirect reference to historical and religious aspects of the culture, the frequent use of hyperbole and obscure metaphors, and the wealth of double, symbolic meanings attached to many crucial words,

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862 The degree to which the process of weaning is traumatic depends somewhat on the type of weaning carried out. There are two methods of weaning in Pukapuka. The first is used if the mother becomes ill, or if the milk fails, or if she becomes pregnant again. In such case, the child is suddenly and immediately removed from its mother's presence and care and placed entirely in the care of a feeding parent, usually the father's sister or the mother's mother. The breaking off is complete and absolute. The feeding parent carries the child about day and night, trying to pacify it and feeding it coconut water, grated coconut, and grated taro. For some children this weaning may take a week to complete. For children more dependent upon their mothers, weaning may take two or more weeks. The second method of weaning is more gradual. The infant is taken to feeding parents in another village and left with them for a whole day at a time. The feeding parents fondle the child, feed it solid foods, and try to keep it happy and pacified. This occurs once or twice a week over a period of about two months, the mother meanwhile trying to accustom the child to solid foods, feeding him coconut and taro before giving the breast. By the end of these months, the child is walking [844] fairly well. He is encouraged to identify himself with the activities of his siblings, to play away from his mother as much as possible. More and more the mother refuses to give the breast at the child's demand. The weaning is thus accomplished by a series of gradual steps in which other interests and other foods assume an importance in the child's mind because both are associated with the status and prestige of a group of elder children with whom the child's lot is more involved. Any hesitations over taking the steps of the weaning process are overcome for the child by the well-directed and unmistakable ridicule of elders, both adult and children.

857 Again it may be noted that by the time the weaning stage is passed and the child is ready 861 to join the children's play groups there has been little physical frustration and a lack of any discipline that could be called severe. The child has been a center of interest during infancy. Now it has been gently eased out of infancy and into the status of a relatively self-dependent [154] childhood. Thumb sucking, incidentally, as distinguished from object sucking, is unknown among Pukapukan infants or children. This gradual process of growing up is continued during the early years of childhood (from the age, say, of two to seven or eight). Young children form mixed-sex gangs. They are relatively free from adult demands or adult interference of any sort. These gangs, consisting of perhaps six or more children drawn from neighboring households, roam about bush, reef, or beach by day or night. Their plays are either imitative games mimicking adult activities—fishing games, domestic games, "family games" (realistically acting the roles of husband and wife)—or else the free-energy activities apparently characteristic of children everywhere—laughing, dancing, racing, singing, and swimming. Hungry, the children drift back to the village for food; tired, they throw themselves down in the house for a sleep of one hour or eight. The gangs have a relatively stable existence. They appear to be based mainly on age level. Children of the upper age gradually drift out to join groups of still older children. Their places are taken by the "weaners" who drift into the group from below. Adults are generally tolerant of these children's gangs. As long as they keep to themselves, amuse themselves with their own activities, and in general are rarely

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village path in the direction of the next village where his blood parents live. Mata screams after the boy to return immediately; then noticing he is not paying any attention to her, she runs after him. She comes back driving the crying boy in front of her with heavy blows from a thick stick. Lima runs into the house and Mata barricades him inside, telling him not to try to move from the house on pain of another beating. In explanation of this scene, Mata complains that Lima slips away from her house as much as possible, visiting his blood parents by preference. She is enraged with the boy and takes a long time to calm down again. Lima, incidentally, is forever pulling at his penis and masturbating. Mata is almost the only Pukapukan parent who is worried by this. She does not allow Lima to go naked as do the other boys of his age but keeps him dressed in the lavalava skirt. It is perhaps significant that Lima tossed aside his lavalava before trying to steal away from his adopted mother's house.

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The second example of frustration is more indirect in that it refers to the reaction of a child to other children in the household who have been adopted, but it provides a case of play behavior that is clearly symbolic and probably only to be intrepreted in terms of a deep-seated conflict over being a member of a household in which the adopted children enjoy a favored position.

Ta (7:0) is the youngest of eight children. He lives with his now elderly parents who have adopted their two grandchildren. (Ta's niece and nephew) into the same household. The parents give all their favors and affection to their adopted grandchildren. Ta is obviously unwanted in the household. He is an unsmiling, lonely child, hanging precariously onto the fringes of a gang that has no particular welcome for him. On this occasion he was seen playing marbles with two other boys and a girl, the oldest of whom was four and a half years.

Ta drops out of the game. He strolls off into the bush but is soon back again with a long narrow immature coconut. He cuts a nick out of the center bottom of this nut with his knife and says, "This is the penis of my child." Then he turns the nut over and makes another nick saying, "This is the hole of the anus for defecating." Now he scratches a few rough marks on the nut to represent eyes, nose, and mouth, and lays the nut down on the ground. He says his child has lived for one day only and is now dead. He says he is going to bury the child. (But for adoption, Ta's nephews, whom he now calls "brother" would be called "son" or "child" by him.) He begins to dig out a hole in the ground with a coconut shell. The other two boys now drop their marble game and join in the burial play. When he has finished digging, Ta goes off to find some "mats" for his corpse-child. He brings back some large dried leaves which he carefully wraps round the child. The three boys now place the corpse on strips of coconut leaf and lift it up to place in the grave. As they do so, they fumble. The corpse drops off the leaves onto the ground. Without comment, all three boys kick the corpse and hole to pieces, trampling on both with their feet.

While his two friends begin other games, Ta picks up a small piece of coconut wood and starts to cut out what he calls a coffin. He whittles away for almost an hour, carefully shaping the box and hollowing out the inside. From another portion of the same piece of wood Ta shapes what he says is his "child"—a longish piece of wood with a knob representing the head. He inserts the child in the coffin. Finally, he makes a lid and with it carefully covers over the child inside the coffin. When he has finished he stares at his work for a while. Then he removes the child and proceeds to cut coffin and lid into small sections. These sections he throws away into the bush. Now he cuts up his child-corpse, handing round pieces to several boys who have come up to play saying, "Eat my

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

577 child here!" His own shirt of the child's body he places in his mouth and chews vigorously. He
154 spits out the macerated wood, stamps on it, and goes away.

859 Burying games played by children are not uncommon. They generally follow immedi-
159 ately upon a death in the community when the children's interest is turned to corpses by fringe-participation in the funeral wake and burial. Ta's play, however, bore no relation to any actual death. It appears to have been quite spontaneous, unmotivated by immediate imitation. It is nonetheless significant, however, for the insight it gives into the adoption-frustration situation in Pukapukan society; specially significant if Freud's conceptualizations be used for approximate explanation.

IV

864 Enough has perhaps been said to suggest some of the overt conflict situations that the Pukapukan child has to surmount in the slow process of socialization. It may be of interest now to discuss briefly the attitudes of children to the facts of sex and also the attitudes of parents and elders in regard to the sex knowledge and sex plays of children. The discussion will show clearly that conflicts over sex are certainly not conflicts that in any way appear to ruffle the surface of Pukapukan child development. The metaphor may well be emphasized in so far as it still leaves as an open question the nature and extent of unconscious conflict and repression.

864 Two points may well be kept in mind in considering the sexual attitudes of Pukapukan
831 children. First, the general attitude of the culture towards sexual activities is that these are
513 pleasurable play activities. The attitude is realistic, sensuous but not sensual. For the Pukapukan all activities lead naturally to some form or other of sex expression. Secondly, all members of the household sleep in the same sleeping house. Where there is only one mosquito net in the house, parents and children all sleep under it. In a few houses in which a rough partition separates two rooms, parents and small children sleep in one room, older
864 children in the other. A group of older women informants said that some parents make an
834 effort not to let their children witness them in coitus but other parents make no effort to conceal their actions. Particular parents wait until they assume their children are asleep or else go to the bush to have intercourse. These precautions, however, prevent little. It is certain that children witness the sex act at one time or another, usually at a very early age, and are fully conversant with all that relates to sex and childbirth.

864 Many conversations with children between the ages of three and six years record de-
521 tailed but volunteered accounts of childbirth. The children assume that childbirth is as
844 neutral a topic of discussion as any other; just as their parents have no objection to their
831 being present at childbirth—no objection that is, so long as they do not insist on pursuing a kitten between the legs of a parturient woman or hindering the midwife by tangling her up with a pig that is being chased. Similarly in regard to the sex act: the familiarity of children with this phase of behavior as recorded in their conversations or activities is striking in its completeness. Words referring to the sex act are continually on their tongues either by

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

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serted husbands before they summoned up enough courage to attack and kill the young men. No Pukapukan can tell this tale without commiserating with those husbands of long ago.

The material just summarized suggests clearly the Pukapukan practises of, and attitudes to, sex among children. They may be summarized for boys as a good deal of play with the sexual organs, including masturbation and manipulation of the sex organs of other children, usually but not exclusively of the same sex. For the girls much the same holds. These generalizations hold for children up to the age of eleven or twelve. Towards the end of this age period boys and girls are both caught up into an increasing participation in adult activities: fishing, coconut collecting, food preparation, and mat making. The character of plays, at this age, does not differ from the typical wrestling plays, organized games, and imitative plays of children of younger age levels. It has seemed impossible to characterize on the basis of field records any flight to reality or any repression of parentally directed hostility theoretically expectable from the concept of the latency period. There are likewise no records to be added concerning Pukapukan adolescence. Casual observation suggests no adolescent conflicts, no cultural storm and stress period. Nor does knowledge of the culture suggest any psychological reason or basis for possible adolescent conflicts. There is a total absence of motifs, incidents, or allusions to adolescence in the chants and folktales. The only coming of age with which the Pukapukan seems to be familiar is the assumption of sociological adulthood when the old judge the young to be ready to take on the economic and social responsibilities of adult life.[8]

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V

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Enough field data have been given, we hope, to outline the main patterns of childhood socialization in Pukapuka and some of the stresses incidental to this process of growing up. Certain theoretical points emerge from this material. They relate on the one hand to field methods and on the other hand to interpretations of the field data.

On the completion of our field work we summarized for Sapir our experience and conclusions in regard to field methods.[9] There is no need to retraverse these in detail. They related principally to an analysis of the kind of culture in which we thought children could be

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[8] There are naturally occasional deviants who do not fit easily into this pattern. In *Brief Pukapukan Case History* (Journal, Polynesian Society, Vol. 48, pp. 135-43, 1939) we have outlined one adolescent's growing up that illustrates interesting variations on the pattern as here stated. It should also be noted that in Pukapukan culture, before conversion to Christianity broke down some of the old personal tapus, one situation alone was likely to have caused personal stress at this period. This was the strict tapu that formerly held between a man and his cousin-in-evidence (females only). The tapu was not observed in childhood. Its incidence was first felt during adolescence. The functioning of this tapu and the stresses it brought about have been noted in the *Ethnology of Pukapuka* (pp. 299-69). This tapu is preserved today among old people. The young bother about it little. Among the younger generations several marriages have even occurred among kin who were formerly rigidly tapu to each other—an utterly inconceivable situation according to old-time patterns, and one today that causes real disapproval among the old.

[9] Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole, *Some Modern Methodological Implications in the Study of Primitive Children* (Ms.,

527 In the morning the Loto women had danced in a place on the
535 ala where I could see them from the house. In the afternoon,
834 the Henrys [the resident agent and his wife] visited and sat
152 on the verandah. The Ngake women refused to dance where I could see them, and danced on that part of the ala which is hidden from our house by an intervening house. The reason: knowing the Henrys' victorian sensibilities, they knew full well that Henry would disapprove of the dancing. Rather than curb their fun, for which indeed there was no reason to do, they referred to remain hidden, an implication being, I think, that the women and men are fully aware of the sexual symbolisms involved in this apparently mild Christmas dancing.

The second incident: During the course of Ngake dancing, P [Pearl Beaglehole] went out to dance with the Ngake women. Yato men, half in jest, half in seriousness, begged her to leave and not watch their dancing, saying that she would tell their wives afterwards what she saw. The implication here being, one supposes, that the proper place for a Yato woman was with the other women of this village, who might enjoy themselves how they could for this day with men from the other villages, but that for this day at least, Yato men should have full right to enjoy themselves with women from the other two villages, unspied upon by a woman from their own village, who might later tell tales 'out of school'.

[178] Note that throughout this day of dancing in the village, there
[182] has been no suggestion that any actual promiscuity in the
[154] sexual sense has occurred. It is possible, however, that if the idea of tutaka dancing is old, occurring formerly perhaps, at the time of takalunga of the rising of the stars mataliki, when much dancing and sport seems to have taken place, then sexual promiscuity in connection with it very likely occurred also, and in this case a day and mechanism was elaborated for conventionalizing with social approval what would otherwise be likely to cause rents in the social fabric.

527 Finish of Tutaka: All three teams of women dancers proceed to Loto village, and dance competitively against each other to determine the best dancing team. Ngake was adjudged the best by the men of Yato, and the latter presented to the women of Ngake a shark-skin drum made by Makilae. The women danced until dusk and then the day was ended, save for a hangover of stomach disorders and mild fevers.

526 Men's activities: During the past weeks the men have been
461 also practising cricket, usually every afternoon and early evening. This in preparation for the series of cricket matches taking place on the three days after Boxing Day. During this practise period, other work has been at a standstill, and

[156 578] others must be defeated. Repressed jealousy and hard feeling are common emotions.

152 571 Under the conditions of life and the type of culture I have indicated it should not be surprising if repressed aggressive tendencies and anxieties show typical reaction formations. Life is such that no one may get away from his fellow-villager. Privacy and solitude as we know them are almost non-existent. Day and night, month in, month out, the individual is continually in contact with others. He cannot get away from them no matter what the provocation. Were it not for certain socially approved ways of expressing otherwise repressed emotions, the society would disintegrate under the weight of its own neuroses.

154 Two socially institutionalized releases for this pent-up emotion may be mentioned. When the old culture was functioning fully, the end of the hurricane season was celebrated with a month or more of dancing, chanting and feasting. The anxiety and worry of the previous months, during which there was an ever-present danger that each day would be the last, was allowed to drain away through a patterned emotional catharsis. Today when the island is nominally Christianized, the church has implicitly recognized the need for this purge. It celebrates a vigorous three-week period of thanksgiving and prayer, following this up with dramatic performances of Bible legend or approved incidents from the traditional history of the island in which village competes against village in a program of boisterous dramatization.

● 154 578 Another type of collective abreaction is found in the traditional institutional rivalry among the three villages. At periodical intervals contests are arranged in which village competes against village, the winning village being given the privilege of chanting for one whole day, in the presence of all the people of the island assembled, songs that glorify the chanters and hurl the most vicious insults at everyone else. At the end of a day, excitement reaches a high pitch and floods off into sexual license. Emotional catharsis and physical exhaustion thus combine to reduce the level of anxiety and aggression in the community to a socially safe pressure.

Village contests are arranged for fishing, wrestling, dart-throwing, and today for cricket. In this last sport teams of women compete as well as teams of men. The games continue for some three weeks and the women are at least as vigorous as the men in utilizing the opportunity given them to be as nasty and as insulting as they please towards the women of other villages.

As an example of the sort of chant that is considered insulting

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when sung by the people of one village on one of these occasions of socialized release, I give the following translation of one of the briefest wrestling chants (but not one of the most brutally violent!): 154 578

The kilts of Pana's women are easily opened—
Pressed to the ground,
Thrown by me
Rolled over and over are the rival villages.
Broken their hands and feet,
Trodden and smashed their lips and eyes.
Look from above, O two villages,
On the strength you boasted of—
Smashed it is and pressed to the ground—
Come, come now, that I may take you
On the journey of my human body,
Landed at Yiva and Niue, sleeping there,
Landed at Yiva and Niue, sleeping, embracing.

On the surface this may not seem to the reader to be particularly insulting. The import, however, is clear. The chant is sung by the people of Ngake village, whose other name is Pana. The implication of the first line is that although the women of this village are very hospitable (the kilt of coconut leaf was the only dress formerly worn by the women), nevertheless so defeated are the men of the other two villages that they have not the strength to take advantage of their opportunities—and no Pukapukan likes to realize this fact. Successive lines comment on the magnitude of the defeat inflicted on the two villages. The statements are extremely hyberbolic because Pukapukan wrestling is, on the whole, a very mild sport. Victory in a contest comes when a rival has both feet lifted from the ground, or touches the ground with any part of the anatomy other than the feet. The chanters, nevertheless, gain much satisfaction from exaggerated boasting. They are living for the moment in a world of make-believe, and the greater the fantasy the greater the success of the catharsis. The last four lines recur to the motif of sex: in fantasy, the Ngake men have taken the women of the other two villages away from their lovers, away to the two legendary lands of Niue and Yiva. There they may cohabit with the women free from possible interference from their beaten, weak and disorganized rivals. Thus in such a simple chant as the one adduced, the Pukapukan can work off banked emotion and receive therefrom the satisfactions of the most delightful fantasy.

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The chant I have given is traditional. Many other chants are specially composed for this institutionalized insulting. After winning a victory in a fishing contest, for instance, the men and women of the victorious village will stay awake the night long, practising old and composing new and topical chants to be sung on the following day. No description can do justice, of course, to the chanting and the dancing that accompany it. The chanters, men and women both, are grouped in the middle of the village meeting ground, facing the people of the other two villages who have come to watch and be jeered at. Chanters are decorated with wreaths, belts and bandoliers of greenery. They chant continuously: the same chant may be repeated several times, and as soon as it is finished, another is commenced. All the time, the dance movements of arms and body accompany the rhythm of the song, illustrating sentiments in the song and pointing the insults with appropriate gesture. The whole picture is one of tremendous vitality, energy and excitement. I have no record of insult becoming so intolerable as to lead to physical violence. Everyone, whether actor or spectator, has been trained to the rules of the game. And formerly, at least, actors and spectators would be able to sink all bad feeling in the wildness of the sexual promiscuity that afforded a final outlet for emotional tension.

A somewhat different type of emotional release is afforded by the frequent telling of stories about the adventures and fate of man-eating demons who, after plaguing humans, are captured by culture-heroes and by them punished with a death that has many refinements of sadistic cruelty. These stories are told with great emphasis and realism, especially in those concluding sections where the type of death torture is elaborated. The evident pleasure of the narrator in detailing this torture, and of his audience in listening to it, contrasts strongly with the usually gentle, friendly and peaceable character of the Pukapukans. It [156] is only to be explained, I think, on the theory that a vicarious participation in such cruelty acts as an emotional release for aggressive tendencies, and that, in fact, the Pukapukan is normally gentle and friendly just because he has these necessary outlets.

Characteristic methods of killing a man-eating demon are: whipping the body with switches until the skin is flayed off; pounding the body with stones until it is reduced to pulp or dust; burning alive in a succession of fires. The following brief account of the death of one of these man-eating demons, a crab-like creature called Te Unga-tupua, is typical of many such accounts:

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The people collected the rubbish piles and placed them in the customary path of the demon. A warrior showed himself and tempted the demon to advance. As he advanced, the warrior retreated, setting light to the piles with a torch. The translation then runs:

"The demon crab crawled on top of the first bonfire. He was scorched by the fire. One of his legs broke. Finished. Te Palo (the warrior) moved backward. The demon crab climbed onto the next bonfire. He broke the other large foot. The main legs were finished at being broken. Te Palo moved to the third of the bonfires. The demon crab also crawled up. They continued just like that. The legs were finished falling off in the bonfires, nine of them. There was still one more bonfire. The trunk of the crab's body and testicles alone remained. Te Palo moved backward. The crab crawled to the last bonfire. He burned the trunk and testicles. They fell away from the shell. The crab squirmed. Te Palo called out to his friends to come and help him finish off the demon. The people rushed forward with sticks and stones. They pounded on the crab, smashed him to pieces. They whipped him until his skin was raw. He was nothing but a soft pulp. They pounded the pulp till it was dust. The demon crab died. Finished also is his tale."

The account just given is in summary form, but it well preserves the narrative style of much of this type of Pukapukan fantasy—the repetitive and slow building up to a long-delayed climax. Told with gesture and enthusiasm, the story is made to live for the auditor. The European observer cannot but feel that the substitute satisfactions of fantasy should not be lightly underrated.

There can be no doubt that spontaneous abreactions of anxiety do actually occur in real life, more so in the past than now, when a Resident Agent keeps tight control on the manners, morals and customs of the Pukapukans. However, we were able to collect many accounts of incidents in which individuals were punished by spontaneous group action for crimes that particularly shocked the conscience of the time. The greatest sin in Pukapuka is, and was, that of stealing. This is understandable when one recalls that only by the most rigid control of all available food resources was it possible in the past to support the population of the atoll. Discovered stealing was a shameful crime. When this happened, the thief was likely to lose all self-control and, in his intense shame, kill whatever living creature was in sight. The following story of Vakathyala is a typical illustration of this:

Vakathyala went with the other people of his village to the reserve islet of Motu Ko to gather and husk fallen coconuts. All the people had been warned against taking drinking nuts for their own use. Vakathyala went

152 into the middle of the reserve, opened a drinking nut and afterwards
154 cracked the shell to eat the flesh inside. In the quietness of the bush this
627 was heard by the other men and they ran to him, seeking to hold him for
579 having broken the tapu of the reserve. Vakathyala escaped them and ran along the main reef back to his village. Near home, he came upon two children playing in a shallow reef pool. In his madness Vakathyala struck down the children and killed them. Rushing further, he came to two other children playing by themselves. These children Vakathyala also killed.

When the people of the island heard of these killings they were enraged. Vakathyala was caught and it was decided that he should be whipped to death. He was dragged to the village meeting ground and then in turn the men of each lineage whipped him. His skin swelled, became raw, was torn to shreds, only flesh remained, then his veins stood out, and soon his bones were visible. The father of the slain children heated stones red-hot and applied them to Vakathyala's testicles. When all the lineages had finished, the pulpy, disintegrated body of Vakathyala was dragged to the beach, thrown into the sea and allowed to drift back and forth as wind and tide carried it. The people gathered on the beach and cursed the dead body. One night Vakathyala's maternal lineage came secretly to the beach, gathered the remains of the body in a mat and buried it in a hastily dug hole. The people of the island looked for the body but none could find it. None knew its whereabouts. This is well for had the act of the maternal lineage been discovered, all the men of this lineage would have been whipped. The island had decreed death for Vakathyala and none might interfere with this command.

So runs the account. It should be noted that the last refinement of torture is not physical but social. The socially approved way in which to dispose of any corpse is to bury it in the family cemetery, the focus of a complex set of relationships which determine social status both during the life and after the death of
154 the individual. No Pukapukan can visualize with anything but
761 intense horror the disposal of his corpse, or any other corpse for that matter, in an unidentified grave or in the sea. It represents
152 the negation of everything that gives meaning to life. The real
579 point of the story, however, is the methodical manner in which the community systematically set about punishing the offender and in which it appears to have made this punishment the excuse for elaborate sadistic and aggressive impulses that would otherwise have been denied an approved outlet. Again, in telling the story, many many years after the event, informants became extremely excited as the narrative proceeded. With a wealth of
154 detail and emphasis they built up the climax. There was evident no expression of horror at the type of punishment inflicted, no statement of sympathy at the sufferings of the individual as he

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writhed and groaned in his agony. There was a simple-minded participation in, and re-living of, the event in which so much repressed anxiety must have been allowed freely to dissipate itself over a helpless individual who had broken immemorial rules and become the moment's scapegoat. 154

Other examples of spontaneous abreactions are to be found in the infrequent bloody feuds that suddenly flared up in Pukapuka and just as quickly died down again. There was no institutionalized warfare nor any socially approved method of resorting to physical violence to settle disputes between groups. Occasionally, however, feuds broke out between the older men and the young men's group. The ostensible reason for these feuds was quarrelling over food divisions acerbated by the flouting of the authority of the old men by the young adults. Several of these feuds are well documented in Pukapuka. The noteworthy thing is the manner in which what might well be termed "blood lusts" for a time ruled the community. The stronger side hunted down and killed the opposing group without mercy and without shame. Familial feelings were ruthlessly tramped on, victims of the lust, in a typical case, forced to commit suicide by allowing friends to bury them alive in deep holes, the last consolations of custom denied them. Then when the last victim was safely killed, and anger and aggression appeased, the madness appears to have died down and the group lapsed back into the comfortable security of everyday life. 154 579 628

Violent individual reactions to anxiety conflicts may also be mentioned. Pukapukan patterns of sex behavior are noticeably Polynesian in their freedom. Adultery today hardly concerns the people except when an individual, more progressive than the rest, takes his troubles to the Resident Agent and this official is bound to interfere according to the civil code by which the island is now nominally governed. Formerly adultery was a private matter between the parties concerned. Whether an injured husband took note of the behavior of his wife depended upon his temperament, his affection for the woman, or the fact that he was goaded beyond endurance by interfering relatives. In any case, the usual result of noticed adultery was either the dismissal of the woman from the house or else a domestic beating. Occasionally, however, an individual seems to have been forced to more drastic measures, not by the flagrancy of the offense, but by intense anxiety in his own mind. The account of Kupenga illustrates this: 154 837 [691]

154 837 Kupenga was married to Te Anga. She committed adultery one day and was spied on by the relatives of Te Anga, who came and complained to him. The heart of Te Anga was pierced. He was filled by jealousy. His jaws trembled, his feet stamped up and down. When Kupenga came crawling back to him at daybreak he seized her, tore apart her thighs, exposed her genitals. He tied her two arms to two house posts, stretched apart her legs and tied them to two sides of the house. No part of her remained covered. The news spread to the whole island. Nothing like that had happened before and the island moved up to look at Kupenga. Te Anga stood on guard before his wife, defying any man to come and untie her. Because of his strength and skill with the club the crowd of men were afraid. They cried out, beating their arms against their bodies, calling for a person to untie the woman. It was impossible.

The people of the island and her relatives were ashamed because of Kupenga. It was like any exposed object and the children were looking on this thing. At last another strong man crawled on the ground to Te Anga and beseeched him to soften his heart. By gentle words the heart of Te Anga was softened. He ordered the men to untie his wife. They did. So stiff were her muscles that she could not walk. Besides she was ashamed of her nakedness. She strangled herself by tying an anchor rope round her neck and pulling tight on the two ends. Kupenga died and the island was disgusted.

This account has in it several touches of Pukapukan psychology, particularly that emphasis on the shame felt by a woman when her genitals are exposed to the gaze of others. Exposure of the genitals is the equivalent of sexual intercourse, and there are many incidents in Polynesia where a woman striving to preserve her body from a pursuer gives up the struggle as hopeless when by some ruse or other she is tricked into displaying her genitals. The shame of Kupenga was great because she was exposed not only to the gaze of all the men of the island but to the children as well, who, like all Polynesian children, are allowed to participate in almost anything that interests the adults. 152 The point, however, which I wish to emphasize is that Te Anga's 154 outburst of aggression towards his wife, an outburst so great that he was strong enough to flout the feelings of the community 158 at large, must be considered as a very individual way of reacting to a conflict situation which those of other temperaments would pass over with a momentary annoyance. It is also typical of the extraverted behavior patterns of Pukapukan society that his reaction should take the form of sudden and violent action. There was no brooding, no inner dwelling on a felt conflict, merely a senseless outburst of violence that drained off all the anxiety. 154 As long as the tension was at its height, Te Anga would brook no

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interference with his plans. When it was lowered and he had returned to normal, there was no thought of continuing the torture of the woman he loved.

I have given the facts and have suggested that there is some necessity for explaining how the friendly, kind, sympathetic and generous Pukapukan comes to act in a way that is the reverse of all these qualities. It would seem that the function of such violent behavior, whether institutionalized, socially approved for the moment by a social group making new laws to fit the immediate situation, or individually patterned by a personality strong enough to defy opposition, is to provide an outlet for repressed aggression and anxiety that can find little satisfaction in the ordinary give and take of social life among a closely integrated group, extraverted in its culture patterns but forced to live a cooped life on a tiny coral atoll. Such tendencies being for the moment satisfied, the group can lapse back into more normal patterns of behavior and take up again, without undue strain, the petty annoyances and pleasures of everyday living.

The facts so far given refer to a Polynesian atoll, but behavior patterns similar to those described were not unknown among another Polynesian people, the Maori of New Zealand. The Maori tribe, the unit in which and for which the individual existed, was as circumscribed and isolated in its territory as any island group. Tribal ethics placed great value on group loyalty, solidarity, and cohesion. Yet because of individual aggressive tendencies the typical Maori tribe was a hotbed of petty jealousies, strifes and violent competitions between family groups over points of status and punctilios of honor. The major catharsis for an intolerable conflict between ideals of group loyalty and individual desires was inter-tribal warfare. A shamed or humiliated individual might sometimes provoke such warfare by deliberately and secretly going to the territory of another tribe and there just as deliberately killing all whom he could. Responsibility for the outrage would be assigned collectively to the tribe of the killer, and before the latter realized what was in the wind the avengers would sweep down, clamoring for blood and killing indiscriminately men, women and children. Thus outraged pride or dignity resulted in a type of aggressive behavior that could be satisfied only by the destruction of the members of one's own group.

In conclusion I would add that the material here given suggests further implications for social psychology. The observer who takes account of the relation of the individual to the group in those closely integrated units of the pre-literate peoples, is